

## To Clear up a Cloud Hanging on the Pacific Ocean: The 1927 Japan-U.S. Doll Exchange

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From "Japan Doll Messengers," CDGB, Swathmore College Peace Collection

About 12,000 American dolls were sent from the U.S. to Japanese children in 1927. In return, 58 exorbitantly expensive Japanese dolls crossed the Pacific to pay homage to U.S. children. This was a curious spectacular display over the Pacific well-known now to many in Japan and a few in the United States.

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In 1973, Nippon Hoso Kyokai [the Japanese national broadcasting station] aired a documentary film, “Ningyo Shisetsu Mary [Mary, a Doll Ambassador],” in which a story was told about Mary, the doll that was discovered in a primary school in Gun’ma Prefecture. She was one of the 12,000 dolls. In 1927, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, the dolls were received nation-wide with enthusiasm and distributed to kindergartens and primary schools all over the Japanese Empire. During WWII, however, many of them were destroyed because they represented false American goodwill. Mary survived the violence due to the kindly care of a vice-principal who hid her in the shrine on school grounds originally built as storage for the picture of the Emperor and Empress. She had been completely forgotten since for almost thirty years till found accidentally. The bittersweet story gained a wide attention and more dolls were found after the program aired. Soon a catalogue of surviving dolls was made and renewed several times as more dolls came to light. The doll story was found especially relevant for peace education and many variations have been created.<sup>1</sup>

The 58 Japanese dolls sent in return for Christmas in 1927 traveled around U.S. in the following year and were then allocated to states and major cities. Mostly the dolls were placed in museums, and most of them survived WWII although forgotten for many years in museum storages. By now, Japanese enthusiasts’ inquiries seem to have revived interest in the dolls in the United States. Further, as each Japanese doll represented a prefecture or a city in Japan, several local Japanese volunteers have invited back the dolls representing their prefectures for repair and exhibition, activating many local and private exchanges. Thus now, there are seemingly quite a few American enthusiasts.<sup>2</sup>

A lot has already been written about the doll exchange, especially in the Japanese language. All of them attribute its origin and success to collaboration between Sydney Gulick, a former missionary in Japan who was at the time working for Federal Council of Churches of Christ (FCCC), and Shibusawa Eiichi, a Japanese tycoon likened to John Pierpont Morgan. Both of them wanted to ameliorate the Japan-U.S. relationship, badly injured by the 1924 immigration act which defined Japanese as unassimilable aliens.<sup>3</sup> Although the attention to these men is understandable, I do not believe that the project was an “attempt at a personal level by a Japan sympathizer who opposed the immigration act.”<sup>4</sup>

The present paper will analyze the doll exchange in an attempt to illuminate, firstly, Christian women's involvement. I see a huge number of Christian women and their tradition behind the doll exchange. I want to know why they have faded from view. Secondly, the paper will elucidate the configuration of a peculiar U.S. attitude toward foreign relations. What I mean is its duality, the sheer utilitarianism depending on economic and military forces vs. idealistic moralism with a missionary tone. I am particularly interested in the latter and would like to show an example of the process in which the duality was constructed by analyzing the doll exchange. I will, thirdly, describe the doll exchange as a real reciprocal process between the two countries and examine how they reacted and affected each other, leaving reverberations long afterwards.

## I WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT AND THE MISSIONARY TRADITION

Sometime in early 1926, Sydney Gulick presented the idea of giving American dolls to Japanese children to the Committee of World Friendship among Children (CWFC) that had been commissioned by FCCC in the previous year.<sup>5</sup> It was the Committee's first project to which Gulick put his long-cultivated understanding and sympathy for Japanese people and culture.

Gulick not only hit an idea for American dolls to participate in the Japanese doll festival in March that turned out to be markedly appealing to Japanese; but he also led the Committee to take care not to give the slightest hint of insult to Japanese sensibilities. Thus, the Committee chose the standard doll that was rather expensive, three dollars each with unbreakable "Mama Voice." Dolls must be "new, properly dressed and suitable in every way to go to Japan as a Messenger of Friendship and Goodwill."<sup>6</sup> Also, they "should look like attractive and typical American girls,"<sup>7</sup> which actually meant avoiding black dolls.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the Committee did not want the dolls to be just "gifts, with the idea of giving something to Japan," but they were "to be representatives of the children of America, bearing messages of friendship and goodwill."<sup>9</sup> So, the dolls carried passports and tickets as well as written messages from senders. The campaign leaflets also carefully described the Doll Festival as a beautiful Japanese tradition which had "a history of over a thousand years," but inserted a phrase that "in the changing Japan of today, prosaic, everyday things are taking the place of the old romance of the land,"<sup>10</sup> calling attention to Japanese modernity as well.

By June 1926, the campaign for the project was well-launched. After discussing several methods to promote the project nationwide without conflicting with other church programs.<sup>11</sup> On June 17, 1926, Sydney Gulick sent a letter of invitation to cooperate with the project to the people the Committee thought suitable, using the letterhead of FCCC's National Committee on American Japanese Relations (NCAJR). He was the secretary of this committee that had long campaigned against the anti-Japanese clause of the 1924 Immigration Act. Immediately, Gulick received a letter dated June 19 from Henry A. Atkinson, one of the executive committee members of the NCAJR. He wrote that in the crisis of U.S.-Japan relations, the doll campaign was "adding insult to injury and belittling the whole cause that we" represented, and that he was "ashamed to have my name go out in a letter head [sic] connected with such a campaign as this, at such a serious juncture of world affairs."<sup>12</sup> Atkinson was friendly enough to Gulick to say that he pointed this out only in private and added, "If Mrs. Emerich [sic] had been left free to carry on with her children's committee there could have been no possible criticism and it would have been a good thing, but I am afraid of its effect."<sup>13</sup> The last comment was suggestive. Mrs. Emrich was a woman Gulick managed to employ for the National Commission on International Justice and Goodwill (NCIJG) to expand its activity.<sup>14</sup>

As is well-recognized by now, U.S. Christian women had long and diverse experience in foreign relations as promoters of foreign missions from the early nineteenth century. Beginning from such activities as preparing "outfits (clothes)" for missionary wives, women organized themselves to specifically finance both single and married women missionaries and their overseas projects. Women's foreign mission societies based on denomination flourished after the Civil War, whose combined membership was one of the largest among women's organizations in the nineteenth century. Toward the end of the century, women began to establish an interdenominational cooperation in order to share information and techniques, and to avoid conflicts in overseas and domestic efforts. The Central Committee on United Study of Foreign Missions and the Federation of Woman's Boards of Missions were the two main bodies that promoted such interdenominationalism.

Women's foreign mission enterprise rendered distinguished service especially in the fields specific to women, such as recruiting women missionaries, establishing girls' mission schools and training native medical nurses and doctors. Also important was the fostering of interest in for-

eign missions among women and children. For example, in early days, pious mothers were advised to kindle religious sympathy in their children by letting them to grow “missionary corn,” which they could sell to collect money to send overseas. The home-base promoters published magazines and literature for children which introduced foreign customs and scenes, and emphasized the happiness of children born in Christian lands and their obligation to unfortunate ones overseas. Further, the promoters distributed manuals in which Sunday school or church leaders would find guidance when holding missionary meetings. The Central Committee of United Study of Foreign Missions sponsored popular summer schools to train such leaders.<sup>15</sup>

Through such missionary efforts, women fostered an attitude to foreign countries that was religious, moralistic, idealistic, romantic and even sentimental in many cases. Such was a workable approach in the nineteenth century when the foreign countries where missions operated could be conceptualized as “heathen lands” and the relations with these “lands,” concentrated mainly in the Pacific region, were not immediate for the United States in political and economic terms. Women, who were then defined apolitical and who accounted for the definite majority of missionary forces, could rather freely project their religious or missionary imagination on these spaces and peoples. They were able to pursue the missionary heroism in concrete projects such as the ones cited above, given the situation where the “heathen” lands were not yet tightly nationalized and welcomed missionaries’ modernizing agencies.

Thus, even leaving out the doll, a feminine plaything, the concept of “world friendship among children” was intrinsically feminine in the U.S. Atkinson therefore pointed out that only women could lead such a project as “doll ambassadors of friendship” safely. To interpret, he revealed that the American tradition sanctioned two approaches to the international relations. One was hard and masculine, and the other was soft and feminine with religious tones.

Of course, Gulick and the CWFC knew without Henry A. Atkinson’s advice that women would be the actual workers for promoting world friendship among children, and particularly for collecting dolls. The CWFC obviously negotiated with Lucy McGill Waterbury Peabody (Mrs. Henry Peabody), a long-time leader of the women’s ecumenical missionary movement coming out of the Baptist church. She had belonged to the advisory council of the NCAJR.<sup>16</sup> Peabody’s magazine, *Everyland*, which she edited and published for children intermittently

since 1906, began to have a new department from April 1926 called “World Friendship,” of which Mrs. Jeannette W. Emrich” was in charge. The first article by Mrs. Emrich listed ten “World Friendship Ideals for Boys and Girls,” a mixture of messages of religiosity, superiority complex, idealism and international politics.

1) We believe that nations should obey God’s laws of right. 2) We believe that nations become truly great and honorable only by being just and unselfish. 3) We believe that Christian nations have special duties to other nations. 4) We believe that Christian friendship can overcome bad feeling between peoples of different colors and religions. 5) We believe that Christians who love their own country will work for goodwill between nations. 6) We believe that men and women, boys and girls of all races and colors should be fair and just to one another. 7) We believe that all nations should work together for world peace. 8) We believe that all nations should settle their disputes and quarrels in a World Court of Justice or in other peaceful ways. 9) We believe that all nations should cut down their armies and navies and should stop making war. 10) We believe everyone should work to stop war and we promise to do our part.<sup>17</sup>

Gulick eventually let Lucy Peabody take over the chair of the CWFC and Jeannette Emrich its secretaryship. Women accounted for more than ninety percent of its membership. The CWFC was shaped as a women’s organization although instituted by the NCIJG, the male organization.<sup>18</sup> Lucy Peabody was a nominal chair, only providing space for CWFC in *Everyland*. But she was well-known in the ecumenical foreign mission world not only for her leadership of the Central Committee on United Study of Foreign Missions but also for her energetic campaign for establishing and helping “women’s colleges in the Orient” between 1921 and 1923 as well as the jubilee campaign in 1911 to commemorate women’s contribution to foreign missions for half a century. Peabody had visited Japan in 1915 and her women’s college campaign included the building fund for Tokyo Woman’s Christian College established in 1918.<sup>19</sup> Peabody’s name as a chair at this point indicated the evangelical women’s involvement in the doll campaign.

The women’s Christian networks thus were formally activated to collect dolls, Sydney Gulick overseeing the project behind women. Gulick succeeded in securing cooperation from the FCCC’s local organ at least in Ohio where Dr. Lamb took the leadership and gathered the largest number of dolls.<sup>20</sup> As far as is known, this was the only case where a man actively cooperated in a local campaign. Mrs. Ashton, who was in charge

of handling dolls, tickets and passports at the “Doll Travel Bureau,” “thought that the best response came from the churches, though the Girl Reserves, the Camp Fire Girls and the public schools were also showing much interest.”<sup>21</sup> Thus, the campaign spread from the churches to the church-related girls’ organizations to secular institutions.

Though not many remain, several local reports in the CWFC archives tell of the enthusiasm U.S. women invested in the dolls. In Bradford, Massachusetts, the church school of the First Church of Christ sponsored a doll and named her Ann Haseltine Judson, a former member of this church and missionary heroine sent out to India in 1812 as wife of Adoniram Judson, one of the first missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).<sup>22</sup> Rhode Island decided “to do something special and a set of historic dolls had been dressed to illustrate the history of the state from Roger Williams to Commodore Perry.”<sup>23</sup> The twelve young women of the Ohio Avenue Evangelical Church in Columbus, Ohio dressed and named their doll Susan Twiggs in honor of the 89-year-old teacher of the women’s Bible class.<sup>24</sup> Thus the dolls were filled with the memories of those who participated in the project. Just like women prepared “outfits” for women missionaries in early days, they made dresses (even extra changes of clothes) for the dolls. Theoretically, boys were supposed to participate in the project by collecting money to buy dolls and tickets to Japan and girls were supposed to dress the dolls.<sup>25</sup> But the project was soon “passing out of the hands of the children and the work being done more and more by the mothers and older sisters.”<sup>26</sup>

In spite of such enthusiasm, however, the project’s popularity seems to have come from its facileness, compared to what women involved in the foreign mission enterprise had been doing. They had been sending real humans and establishing schools and hospitals. Sending dolls was an easier, trifling gesture with far less commitment. It looked innocent and less intervening. It could be a handy pastime in an increasingly secular, consumer society. In other words, the project seems to have symbolized the weakening, rather than the strength, of the women’s missionary enterprise.

## II FROM WOMEN TO MEN, RELIGIOUS TO SECULAR EXCHANGE

Sydney Gulick’s genius was that he appropriated the feminine approach to foreign relations in an attempt to compensate for his failure in

the pro-Japanese campaign against the 1924 Immigration Act, clearly the domain of male politics. In other words, Gulick as an ex-missionary in Japan had been inevitably involved in domestic politics in the U.S. when he wanted to improve the Japan-U.S. relationship in the twentieth century when the “heathen lands” vanished and the “world” emerged as nations got closer.<sup>27</sup> His fundamental naivete toward international relations nurtured in the gendered missionary culture surfaced in the doll project when his prayer was not accepted in the world of male politics.

Gulick’s method to incorporate women’s resources into the men’s organization by affiliating the woman chairing CWFC to the NCAJR was prevalent in the mission circle in the 1920s and 30s. By that time, women’s denominational mission boards and societies, which had exerted efficiency and influence acting more or less independently from men’s mission boards, were pressured to merge with men’s denominational boards. This was partly due to the men’s recognition of “woman’s work” for its remarkable success. At the same time, however, it was because the whole pie for funding the foreign mission enterprise was shrinking while the projects had been enlarged and become numerous. In order to coordinate appeals to churches, men’s mission boards had to have a rigid framework to control women, who had been so good at eliciting money. As a result, all the denominational women’s boards and societies except Baptist women were dissolved to merge into men’s boards by WWII. Ironically, this move eventually weakened not only women’s initiative but also the basis for the entire mission enterprise.<sup>28</sup> What Gulick did at FCCC was a version of such attempt to absorb women’s resources.

Gulick and the CWFC also took care not to send religious appeals in spite of his organizational and personal background and the fact that the dolls came most vigorously from churches and church-affiliated organizations.<sup>29</sup> For one thing, the CWFC wanted a constituency wider than churches that were fed up with numerous appeals for money. In other words, the CWFC did not want a criticism that its new project was eating up what should have been spent for other missionary projects. To widen its constituency, the CWFC tried to involve secular groups.

This was also a reflection of a dilemma of the period. In the nineteenth century, Christianity often provided a peculiar discourse to attain social unity among common (not elite) people in the U.S. That is, by referring to “God’s order” or “Christian love,” or by framing one’s intention or conduct as such, one might succeed in silencing different parties voicing



their individual interests. As common as it might have sounded, Christian morality represented a disinterested cause and pointed toward the public good. In those days, especially U.S. white middle-class women made use of this mechanism to gain power. Women were supposed to be pious and thus were “moral guardians.” They did not have a political vote and thus were constructed as aloof from politics, which was a clash of interests. Therefore, women’s opinions were worth listening to because they were presumed to be disinterested.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, this mechanism no longer worked so well as the influx of Catholic and Jewish immigrants since the 1880s had diversified the U.S. religious landscape and as the controversy between fundamentalists and liberals began to severely divide Protestant Christians. The FCCC as an ecumenical organ was in a position to promote liberalism and inter-religious dialogue and cooperation. But such a position was very difficult to maintain: the conservative side regarded it as damaging the essence of Christianity while the secular side or the people of other religions deemed it too Protestant. Under the circumstances, the ecumenical projects such as the ones in which the FCCC was involved began to use more secular terminology to describe their cause rather than Christianity or God. Words like “nurturing children” and “peace” that characterized the doll project were among such terminology to which no one could object.<sup>30</sup>

In dealing with the Japanese, the project further strengthened the tendency in which women and religion faded from view. Here, Gulick, a former ABCFM missionary in Japan, guided the direction of the project very consciously so that it would be effective in the Japanese context.

First of all, Gulick picked up the Doll Festival to represent the Japanese “beautiful tradition.” But there was a criticism, probably from more conservative churches, against the doll project that the Hina Matsuri (doll festival in Japan) was a form of ancestor worship.<sup>31</sup> Although such an interpretation was not necessarily correct, the festival had a necromantic origin in which a doll served as a substitute to be possessed by the evil spirit that might have haunted a person. Dolls in general were not mere playthings but had some magical overtones in the Japanese tradition.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the idea to entrust a doll with a friendship message might have implied idolatry that Protestants had abnegated. However, the CWFC explained Hina Matsuri as “a time for instruction in social graces, in family virtues, in housekeeping and in ancestral history,”<sup>33</sup> taking a firmly non-religious interpretation. In other words, the

project gave priority to appeal to the Japanese over religious consideration.

Further, in approaching Japanese society, Gulick avoided using the missionary or women's networks in Japan, although he could have chosen these as the right counterpart of the American donors. In fact, the church school that had contributed "Ann Haseltine Judson" cited above wanted to send her to the Osaka, Japan, Neighborhood House where "Miss Alice E. Cary, a sister of their minister" was a head-worker.<sup>34</sup> But Gulick did not give priority to such a missionary connection. He knew very well the weakness of the missionary and Christian networks in Japan where Christians accounted for less than one percent of the population. Women's activism in public was also definitely weaker in Japan than the United States.<sup>35</sup> If either the missionary/Christian or women's organizations in the private sector had been able to undertake the task of receiving and distributing the dolls, the impact of the project should have been far less powerful than the case in which the public sector was involved. Thus his target was firmly set upon the Japanese public schools from the beginning.<sup>36</sup>

So, Gulick visited Ambassador Matsudaira first of all, asking for the Japanese government's help. He wanted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education to get involved. He needed and appreciated the enthusiasm and cooperation offered by Shibusawa Eiichi as well as the Japanese companies like Morimura Brothers that had traded with the United States.<sup>37</sup> As Gulick relied on the government and the tycoons, the doll project was firmly linked to men's secular leadership, rendering American women's and religious leadership and participation invisible.

### III NATIONALISM, POWER AND HIERARCHY

#### 1) The American Dolls

Interestingly, the process of masculinization and secularization pointed out above accompanied the nationalization of the project. Already when the dolls were in the United States, a consciousness of the United States vs. Japan, replacing the Christian vs. non-Christian dichotomy or the sister to sister linkage, crept into the project. Several kinds of pamphlets that the CWFC distributed to advertise the project provoked such consciousness by using words like "dolls of America" and "American children" contrasted against "the Japanese custom" and "Japanese children."<sup>38</sup> The passport that participants obtained from the Doll Travel

Bureau in New York<sup>39</sup> for each doll to carry was markedly indicative of the nationhood. It had the American and Japanese flags crossed with each other on the cover, the style of which was exactly copied and proliferated in the leaflets produced later in Japan. On the back, there was a real signature of Japanese Consul General in New York as well as his official stamp. Inside, there appeared a message to "Boys and Girls in Japan" signed by "Uncle Sam," describing the doll as "a loyal and law-abiding citizen of the U.S.A." that carried "a Message of Goodwill" from "the Boys and Girls of America." On the right side, a personal description of the doll with her picture with an American flag and a fake rail and steamer ticket on the bottom. The participants secured the passports from the Doll Travel Bureau and used them to teach children the rules that governed overseas travelers, national jurisdiction, the concept of citizenship and so forth.<sup>40</sup>

The project being thus framed, the participants were never free from national consciousness. Some of the letters attached to the dolls defined the senders' identity in terms of a nation.<sup>41</sup> As the dolls gathered in New York, they were further identified in such terms: At the final farewell at the Plaza Hotel where thousands of dolls were brought together, forty-eight dolls were chosen "to represent the forty-eight states, and a forty-ninth to serve as Miss America."<sup>42</sup> This pattern of representation was exactly copied and repeated by the Japanese in preparing Japanese dolls for U.S. children.

Nation was thus replacing Christianity or sisterhood as the symbol of unity in the process to gather and send the "American" dolls. As I have already explained above, this was partly coming from the situation where Protestant Christianity was becoming one of many religions in the United States; the liberal vs. conservative controversy was splitting Protestants; the church resources were getting drained; and women's leadership was getting absorbed into men's. Nation at this juncture was the construct that might facilitate the overcoming of the religious and gender splits and differences.

Thus, in a sense, it was only natural that the Japanese side received the dolls as a national message of friendship and reconciliation. At the same time, however, the nation-state loomed larger as the project was moved to Japan where the government's apparatus was actually used, although this again was what Sydney Gulick earnestly hoped and planned from the beginning.

Although the Japanese counterpart of the CWFC was a private organ

named Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan (CIFCJ) and Shibusawa Eiichi was its chair, almost all the arrangements were made by the Ministry of Education. A major part of the funding came from Shibusawa and the Japanese-American Relations Committee. But the Ministry of Education paid about a quarter of the cost. The Ministry also facilitated the collecting of money from Japanese children to enable the return project to send the Japanese dolls to the United States.<sup>43</sup>

As the government and the business tycoon were deeply involved in the project, women and religion in the background of the U.S. project were completely forgotten,<sup>44</sup> and the national interest with which male Japanese leaders were seriously concerned dominated the project. The fact that the project was used to strengthen Japanese rule over its colonies has been well investigated by Koresawa Hiroyuki. Especially in Korea, assimilation of Korean children to Japanese culture was vigorously pursued as they received American dolls as subjects of the Japanese empire, singing the Japanese national anthem in unison, listening to a thank-you address read by a Korean girl in fluent Japanese and receiving the Japanese and American flags together with sweets. Even a poem written by a Korean girl in Japanese won the first prize in a welcome song contest sponsored by Osaka Asahi Newspaper Co., who invited the winner to Osaka to participate in a welcoming party for American dolls given to the prefecture. She, with her supposedly fluent Japanese, symbolized the unity between Korea and Japan on Japanese terms.<sup>45</sup> The CWFC later naïvely appraised the incident, commenting, "Thus goodwill between Korea and Japan was strengthened."<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, the dolls as a gift from the United States created the focal point of power, which was used to confirm, strengthen or invent the hierarchical order in the Empire. The process began by endowing the project with a formal authority in Japan. In the March 3<sup>rd</sup> grand reception at the Japanese Young Men's Hall in the outer garden of the Meiji Shrine at Aoyama in Tokyo where the leading men such as Shibusawa Eiichi, Okada Ryohei, Minister of Education or Baron Shidehara, Minister of Foreign Affairs participated together with several eminent Americans in Japan like Charles MacVeagh, American Ambassador, to emphasize the importance of the occasion. Interestingly, all the American notables were accompanied by their wives to connote a feminine tone of the occasion, while the Japanese side consisted totally of male power and authority. The children invited to the reception were girls either of the noble fam-

ilies from Kazoku Jogakko [the peeress school] or of elites from the primary school attached to the Women's Higher Normal School in Tokyo. Tokugawa Yukiko, aged seven, granddaughter of Prince Tokugawa Iesato represented the children of Japan to receive a friendship doll from Betty Ballantine, the seven-year-old daughter of the American consul General in Tokyo. The participation in this ceremony marked social excellence of the participating children according to birth and merit.

The March 14th reception was given on board the ship that brought them from America, the *Tenyomaru*, alongside the pier in Yokohama as well as at a primary school in the vicinity for the 49 dolls representing "America" and 48 states, with local authorities' participation. The forty-nine representative dolls were taken to Tokyo "in the arms of . . . girls from the primary school of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women representing the children of Tokyo."<sup>47</sup> They were then taken to the Imperial Palace for the Empress and her infant daughter, Princess Shigeko Teru to see. With a report that the Emperor also saw the dolls and that he was satisfied with the American intention, the project acquired further authority. The Empress gave a two-story house and toys to the dolls, which later were exhibited at the Tokyo Educational Museum. Meanwhile, some of the other dolls were displayed in major department stores in Tokyo, disseminating a metropolitan aura of consumption.<sup>48</sup>

After such extravagant reception, the dolls were distributed to localities where numerous prefectural and local school receptions were repeated in the same authoritative pattern conveying the hierarchical message albeit smaller in scale.

The dolls' distribution priority in the Empire was determined according to the following hierarchical order: 1) kindergartens and primary schools attached to prefectural normal schools; 2) public and private kindergartens and primary schools located at prefectural capitals; 3) public and private kindergartens and primary schools in major cities in each prefecture; 4) public and private kindergartens and primary schools located in the district or places where many foreigners live or pay visits (for example, open ports, tourist sites, hot-spring resorts, summer and winter resorts, etc.); 5) other public and private kindergartens and primary schools that each prefectural governor considered suitable.<sup>49</sup> The tendency to give priority to elitist and urban schools as well as to be attentive to foreigners' gaze is obvious. The American dolls were used to nurture pride among children with a potential quality for future leaders as

well as to invoke national pride, rather than kindly feelings of friendship, among children in an international context.

Thus, in Dairen where the Japanese population were surrounded by other nationals, the reception for the dolls was especially showy and the dolls invited a hostile reaction from several Japanese residents who attacked the Japanese government's fawning over the U.S.'s hypocritical gesture of friendship after the passage of the 1924 immigration law.<sup>50</sup> In Formosa (now Taiwan), the dolls were given mainly to kindergartens where only children from elitist families consisting of Japanese and a tiny minority of wealthy Taiwanese (Chinese residents in Formosa).<sup>51</sup> In Korea, the dolls were distributed equally between Japanese and Korean primary schools to promote the kind of assimilation as mentioned above. So, the distribution and reception patterns varied a little bit according to the region of the Japanese Empire. But the basic focus on elites and emphasis on Japanese national pride was maintained.<sup>52</sup>

## 2) The Japanese Dolls

Although the CWFC did repeatedly emphasize that return gifts were not necessary,<sup>53</sup> the Japanese side did not comply, of course. The Japanese were traditionally well-versed with power politics involved in gift-giving practice. Shibusawa Eiichi and others involved in the project decided on April 21, 1927, to send in return Japanese "dolls that should not be inferior to American dolls," although many schools that had received the dolls were already sending back individually such items as letters, drawings, and collections of compositions.<sup>54</sup> The American dolls impressed the Japanese not only for their technology of implanted "mamma voice," but also for the good care that the senders took by equipping the dolls with "passports, letters, spare clothes and toys."<sup>55</sup> Not only to equal but also overwhelm the American gifts, the Japanese side settled on sending fifty-eight traditional Japanese dolls in kimonos with personal effects, each costing approximately 350 yen. The CIFCJ, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, collected 29,000 yen from the girls in primary schools that had received the American dolls to facilitate the project.<sup>56</sup>

Although in terms of number, the Japanese gifts were no match for the American, each doll was an exemplary work by a professional artisan. The kimonos and personal effects were also custom-made, ordered through the best department stores. They were almost priceless examples of handicrafts, symbolizing the exquisite Japanese tradition, graceful

culture and refinement that might overcome the modernity represented by the West or the mass-produced American dolls.<sup>57</sup> They were to assert the cultivation and civility of the Japanese who were defined as barbarous and unassimilable to U.S. culture by the 1924 immigration act.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sponsored the preparation of “Welcome to the American Doll Messengers,” a little booklet that accompanied the Japanese dolls for distribution to describe the receptions held in Japan. The booklet was made of traditional Japanese paper, bound in Japanese style, carrying photos of cherry blossoms and Mt. Fuji. Based on such appeals to traditional beauty, it began with a propagandistic claim that “modern Japan is a member of the family of the civilized nations, along with Europe and America; the romantic Japan of the far eastern seas that was found some sixty years ago is gone forever, having been changed into a new country of the radio and the air-plane.” A photograph of the brand new brick building of the Tokyo Central Station was inserted to support such a claim.<sup>58</sup>

Although the dolls were made either in Kyoto or Tokyo, each was sent to the prefecture that she represented for farewell. Probably, the local students were expected to identify themselves with the beautiful (and expensive) doll again to reinforce their national pride. The primary schools that participated in the return doll project were asked by the prefectural education authority to prepare letters to accompany the dolls. They were in many cases written by representative female students in exemplary Japanese calligraphy on Japanese paper, with elegant floral patterns in some cases. Typically, they were written in a courteous manner, thanking the American children for the American dolls, telling how they were welcomed in their schools and mentioning the beauty of the season in Japan as well as the sending of the Japanese dolls. The dignified tone found in general in these letters still conveys the high self-esteem of the students who were assigned to write them. The letters were again to show the level of cultivation of the Japanese children, although few people in U.S. comprehended the message.<sup>59</sup> In these letter writings and farewell ceremonies, good students and schools were again spotlighted.

The return doll project on the domestic arena also made a significant impact on the traditional doll industry. The American dolls that came for the Japanese doll festival enhanced the status of the festival, one of the most important business occasions for the industry. The use of the traditional Japanese dolls as a return further exalted the value of the dolls

which were now a handicraft of international validity. To send the best dolls possible, a competition was held among doll artisans in Tokyo. More than one hundred dolls were entered in the competition and fifty-one were selected. The first place was won by young Hirata Goyo, who later became a living national treasure in Japan. The international doll project, by injecting national and international power and authority into the doll industry, opened up a possibility for Japanese doll artisans to be recognized as *artists*.<sup>60</sup>

The Japanese dolls arrived in the United States in time for the 1927 Christmas season. Accompanied by two men from the Ministry of Education and led by Miss Japan, the doll given by Princess Teru, the Japanese doll delegates were authorized by the nation-state in a more direct way than the American dolls. Shouldering the mantle of national pride and claim of cultivation and civility in the guise of international friendship, the dolls traveled throughout the United States. The American government could not ignore the little delegates when the Japanese Ambassador endorsed them. At the national ceremony of welcome held at the National Theatre in Washington, D.C., on December 27, 1927, such distinguished guests occupied the boxes as Mrs. Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. William Howard Taft, with Mrs. Henry Peabody, the chair of the CWFC, presiding. Although Mrs. Coolidge was not present and the reception was feminized restoring the original gendered nature of the project, the U.S. government paid the utmost courtesy to the dolls.<sup>61</sup> According to the summary given by the CWFC, welcome receptions were given for the dolls in all the states but two between January and July 1928 and the Japanese dolls visited 479 towns and cities.<sup>62</sup>

#### IV FURTHER REVERBERATIONS

The doll project was undoubtedly a remarkable success for the CWFC at least on the surface: the Japanese reaction to the American dolls was favorable beyond expectation and their enthusiasm enhanced the project from private voluntarism to the quasi-diplomatic exchange between the two governments. Financially, the project took care of itself.<sup>63</sup>

Encouraged, the CWFC in 1928 sent 30,000 friendship school bags to Mexican children for the country's Independence Day on September 16 because "the young people of Mexico like those of the United States think highly of their Day of Independence" and "great emphasis is being



placed by Mexico on universal education.”<sup>64</sup> In return, Mexican school children sent 49 cabinets that contained the arts and industries of Mexico to U.S. children. In 1929–30, the CWFC sent 28,000 “Friendship Treasure Chests” in which American children put small items together with “good books” that were badly needed in the Philippines according to the Committee. The chests were shipped free of charge on U.S. Army transports and distributed among Philippine children on December 30, the day of Jose Rizal, a George Washington for Filipinos who opposed the “cruel and inhuman Spanish rulers.”<sup>65</sup> The last major project before WWII was to send “Friendship Folios” to China in 1932–33, in which the dwindling of the friendship project was obvious.<sup>66</sup> After WWII, the project was revived as the “World Christmas and Chanukah Festival” of the CWFC and during the five years between 1945 and 1950, American children sent two million gifts to children in Europe and Asia devastated by the war.<sup>67</sup>

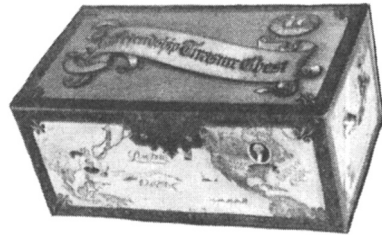
The above selection of the target countries shows the exacting sensitivity of the CWFC toward U.S. foreign relations. They consciously intervened into the most tense relations of the time, Japan infuriated by the 1924 immigration act, Mexico in conflict with the United States over oil and the Philippines under U.S. colonial rule, in an attempt to ameliorate the tension.<sup>68</sup> Theirs was a kindly mediation in that they took the utmost care to gratify the pride



*Doll Messengers of Friendship to Japan*



*Friendship School Bags to Mexico*



*Friendship Treasure Chests to the Philippines*

The Committee on World Friendship among Children, *Adventures in World Friendship* (New York: CWFC, n.d.) in “CWFC publications,” CDGA, Swathmore College Peace Collection

of the other party. They tried to nurture “friendly children” in the intervention, laying hope in the future when these children as grown-ups would build a peaceful world. In so doing, however, they were actually constructing U.S. narcissistic self-image as a considerate and generous peacemaker of the world, covering the fact that the United States was a power far superior to the gift-receiving peoples in terms of economy, military forces and international politics. In other words, by adopting the friendly gesture that the CWFC promoted, the gift-giving Americans could become forgetful of the fact that they were also part of, as citizens of the United States, their country’s racism, acquisitive interests in oil, and colonialism. Seen from this perspective, the anti-U.S. sentiments expressed among Japanese residents in Dairen when they received the American dolls were not only a simple misunderstanding or an expression of ultra-nationalism, but rather an irritation toward what the gift-receiving peoples might have found as the American hypocrisy, the feeling that might have been shared by other weak peoples who had experienced the U.S.’s international double dealings.

As the CWFC pursued the friendship projects in the 1930s and 40s, they made efforts to incorporate Catholics and Jews into their constituency. As early as in 1927, the Committee voted “to have Catholic representation on the Committee” and repeatedly emphasized the importance of the non-sectarian nature in the friendship project campaigns.<sup>69</sup> After WWII, their gift-giving project was related not only to Christmas but also to Chanukah, a Jewish festival. To expand the constituency and to comply with various religious backgrounds that peoples of the world had, the CWFC made efforts to redefine its religious identity as the one permissive to other religions based on the broadest Judeo-Christian tradition, and constructed U.S. nationalism vis-à-vis other peoples along this line. In so doing, they took the risk of being tinged with secular humanism, alienating the most deeply religious population in turn.

On the Japanese arena across the Pacific, the impact of the friendship doll exchange continued also into 1930s. In 1931, twenty-six higher girls’ schools led by female educator Kaetsu Takako through the mediation of the Tokyo city government and Chuo Chosen Kyokai [the Central Association of Chosen] sent 13 sets of Hina Ningyo [dolls for March 3 doll festival] to 13 prefectures in colonial Korea. The dolls were named “Messengers of Love, from Tokyo to Chosen.” Reports on the receptions in Tokyo as well as in various localities in Korea and thank-you letters written by girls’ students in Korea in the beautiful Japanese

were published in a book just like the one the CWFC published in 1929 on the friendship doll project.<sup>70</sup> In 1933, to commemorate the first anniversary of the puppet government in Manchuria, the Japanese government sent four girls as a friendship mission to Manchuria and gave a doll to the last Emperor Puyi. Later, sixty Japanese dolls were sent to Manchuria for distribution. Hatoyama Ichiro, Minister of Education at the time, inscribed “coexistence and co-prosperity” in Chinese characters on the body of the dolls.<sup>71</sup> Japanese women’s leadership or participation was publicly visible in receptions in both of these cases.

The Japanese had obviously learned from the friendship project that ruling required not only coercion but also voluntary consent and that for the latter, a friendly relationship was essential. Also, they had learned to use women in sending a friendly message internationally, or the utility of feminine discourse in international politics. Further, the Japanese had learned the ways in which private initiative was tied to the government to convey friendship messages. But they had not learned that the items of international gift-giving must be chosen according to the other party involved, misunderstanding that dolls, or especially the Japanese dolls, were universally appealing as the messenger of friendship. Thus they sent the Japanese dolls to the peoples they wanted to control, bluntly imposing the Japanese tradition and culture. Their open desire for domination looks coarse, bizarre and even comical to the eyes of the later generation.

It is well-known that most of the American dolls were destroyed during WWII, receiving all the hatred toward the enemy. This not only reveals the Japanese fetishistic treatment of dolls and narrow-mindedness but also shows that the friendship doll project impressed Japanese people far more deeply than Americans, the more powerful side who initiated the project.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> As for the NHK program, see Nagai Hoji, *Mishiranu Hito Mishiranu Machi* [Unfamiliar People, Unfamiliar Towns] (Tokyo: Taiheiyō Shuppansha, 1980), 167–172. As for a typical example of peace education texts, see Jugyō Zukuri Network Iinkai, ed., *Senso wo Kangaeru Jugyō: Aoime no Ningyō Monogatari* [A Class Program to Consider Wars, Stories of the Blue-eyed Dolls] (Tokyo: Gakuji Shuppan, 1990). As for American blue-eyed dolls that remain in Japan, see Takeda Eiko, *Aoi Me wo Shita Oningyo wa* [Blue-eyed Dolls], (Tokyo: Taiheiyō Shuppan-sha, 1980) and *Shashin Shiryo Shu: Aoi Me no Ningyō* [Photo Materials of the Blue-eyed Dolls] (Tokyo: Yamaguchi Shoten, 1985). As for the Japanese dolls sent to U.S., Takaoka Michiko’s work is most complete.

See Takaoka Michiko, *Ningyo Taishi* [Doll Ambassadors] (Tokyo: Nikkei BP-Sha, 2004). Both Takeda and Takaoka visited all the dolls whose whereabouts are known to them in respective countries. All the Japanese names in this article will appear in the order of family name first.

<sup>2</sup> As for local exchanges, see Ningyo Taishi “Miss Kochi” Satogaeri Suishin linkai, ed., *Okaerinasai Miss Kochi* [Welcome Home, Miss Kochi] (Kochi, Japan: Kochi Shinbun-sha, 1993) and The City of Yokohama and Yokohama Ningyo no Ie Kikaku linkai, ed., *Shinzen Ningyo Koryu no Sekai* [World of Goodwill Doll Exchanges] (Yokohama: the City of Yokohama and Yokohama Ningyo no Ie Kikaku linkai, 1985). To evidence the U.S. enthusiasm, there is a wonderful English website which maps all the locations of the Japanese dolls (<http://www.jadejapandolls.com.location.html>). This is a site sponsored by J.A.D.E. There is also a site sponsored by Bill Gordon, who reports on the result of his search for the dolls. (<http://wgoraon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/american/locations/index.html>). Some American museums also carry stories and pictures of the doll exchange on their home pages (See, for example, <http://collectionsrmc.org/NagasakiHamako/Bibliography.html>). This kind of interest seems to be shared by a sizable population of doll fans and collectors. To know the doll collectors’ world in the United States, see A.F. Robertson, *Life Like Dolls* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Important works on Sydney Gulick which touch briefly on the doll project include Sandra C. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding* (The Kent State Univ. Press, 1984), 179–181; Hirobe Izumi, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), 103–104. In the Japanese language, see Shigeru Yoshiki, “Sydney Gulick to Hainichi Hoan [Sydney Gulick and the Anti-Japanese Bill] in *Hokubei Nihonjin Kirisutokyo Undo-shi* (PMC Shuppan, 1991), 584–586.

<sup>4</sup> This is the basic understanding of the doll project by Koresawa Hiroaki, the most important scholar of the doll project. See Koresawa Hiroaki, “Nichibei Bunka Koryu: Nichibei Ningyo Koryu wo Chushin to Shite [The Japan-U.S. Cultural Exchange: On the Japan-U.S. Doll Exchange,” in *Koeki no Tsuikyū-sha Shibusawa Eiichi* [Shibusawa Eiichi, the seeker for the Public Good] edited by Shibusawa Eiichi Kenkyukai (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 1999), 192.

<sup>5</sup> Gulick visited the Japanese ambassador to the U.S., Matsudaira Tsuneo, to ask for his and the Japanese government’s cooperation for the project on Feb. 4, 1926 (Koresawa, 1999, 187). So, the presentation to the Committee would have made before this date. Sandra Taylor wrote that CWFC was established in 1926 (Taylor, 179) but I follow the information given in “Report No. 3: Work Among Children,” in Box 246, CRIA, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

<sup>6</sup> CWFC, “Suggestions for Leaders, Parents, Teachers and Workers on the Doll Messenger Project” (New York: Committee on World Friendship Among Children, n.d.) in Folder “Committee on World Friendship Among Children Publications,” CDGA, Swathmore College Peace Collection (SCPC). According to a news clipping from 1926 in Folder “Committee on World Friendship Among Children,” CDGA, SCPC, about twenty years previous to the doll exchange, “in one of the large cities. . . . An appeal was made to children to give their old dolls to orphans on Thanksgiving Day. Thousands of dolls of all kinds were collected and the message of thanksgiving was extended to the unfortunate motherless children who received the discarded dolls. Unfortunately, although this appeal met with a generous response, the action was not repeated.” Probably, the CWFC tried to avoid sending to Japanese old dolls which had been seen as charity gifts.

<sup>7</sup> CWFC, "Doll Messengers of Friendship," a leaflet in Folder "Japan Doll Messengers," CDGB, SCPC.

<sup>8</sup> See minutes, CWFC (June 9, 1926) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC 18, Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS). It says that "Discussion about how to avoid the sending of colored dolls followed. Decided that the literature should indirectly suggest that the dolls should be white, using the expression 'look like attractive and typical American girls.' " There was a concern on the committee that some Japanese people would be offended if they were given African American dolls. In the 1920-30s, white molded dolls were painted brown or black to make black dolls. These dolls were not particularly stereotypical like the ones produced in the former period [see "Philadelphia Doll Museum" at <http://www.philadollmuseum.com/history.asp> (accessed Nov. 1, 2004)]. Still, the CWFC took the utmost care to avoid racially controversial messages.

<sup>9</sup> This was emphasized by Mrs. Jeannette W. Emrick, secretary of CWFC (Ibid.).

<sup>10</sup> CWFC, "Suggestions."

<sup>11</sup> Minute, CWFC (June 9, 1926).

<sup>12</sup> A letter to Sydney Gulick (June 19, 1926) in Box 241, CRIA. This letter is a carbon copy and does not have the sender's name. I accept Sandra Taylor's judgment that this was from Henry Atkinson (Taylor, 180).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., CRIA.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, 179.

<sup>15</sup> As for Christian women's activism for overseas missions, see Kohiyama Rui, *As Our God Alone Will Lead Us* (Tokyo: Univ. of Tokyo Press, 1992), 61-177. As for the scale of women's involvement in the foreign mission enterprise and their interdenominational coalition, see Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household* (Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1985), 8, Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>16</sup> See the letterhead of the NCAJR in a letter by Sydney Gulick (June 17, 1926) in Box 241, CRIA.

<sup>17</sup> *Everyland*, Vol. 16, No.4 (April, 1926): 1, 22-23.

<sup>18</sup> The letterhead of a letter jointly signed by Jeannette W. Emerick and Sidney L. Gulick (Jan. 25, 1928) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS. The members of the CWFC were 44 in total excepting chair and secretary at this point and only 4 were men, one of whom was Gulick. However, we have to also note that the CWFC was "instituted by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the FCCC." In the NCIJG, men took the leadership and Gulick was its secretary. The names of four leaders of the NCIJG including Gulick also appeared in the letterhead of the CWFC, indicating the male control behind the CWFC. The list of "Members of Committee at Large of the CWFC" (Aug. 23, 1929) included 244 members in which only 27 were men (Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS).

<sup>19</sup> For Peabody's brief biography, see "Lucy Peabody," in Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 1971). As for the campaign for seven colleges in the Orient, see Kohiyama Rui, "From Ecumenism to Internationalism: American Women's Cross-Pacific Endeavor to Promote Women's Colleges in the Orient," Kousar J. Azam, ed., *Rediscovering America: American Studies in the New Century* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 2001). Peabody was invited to Shibusawa Eiichi's residence in Asukayama, Tokyo on May 4, 1913 when she visited Japan. See Ryumonsha, ed., *Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo*, Vol. 38 (Tokyo: Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo Kanko Kai, 1961), 114.

<sup>20</sup> Ohio collected 2,283 dolls [CWFC, *Dolls of Friendship* (New York: Friendship Press, 1929), 22-23, 131; Minutes, CWFC (Nov. 22, 1926) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG

NCC-18, PHS]. At first, the CWFC wanted to gather 200,000 dolls. The target number soon shrank to 25,000, one for each primary school. The actual number collected by January 20, 1927 was something like half of the target. As for the target number, see CWFC, "Suggestions." According to the official report by the Japanese side, 12,035 dolls were sent from America. See Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan (CIFCJ), *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers* (August, 1927), 35. The original due date for the end of the collecting of the dolls was December 20, 1926; it was postponed till a month later [*Everyland*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1927): 1].

<sup>21</sup> Minutes, CWFC (June 9 and November 22, 1926) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS. Just as a side note, the Camp Fire Girls was started by Gulick's brother, Luther Gulick and his wife. Luther was a leader of the YMCA athletic department. See Uno Chisako, "Luther Halsey Gulick" M.A. thesis, Tokyo Woman's Christian Univ. (March, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> "Ann Haseltine Bradford," a news clipping (n.d.) in Folder "CWFC," CDGA, SCPC.

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the CWFC (November 22, 1926) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS.

<sup>24</sup> *Christian News* (Feb. 4, 1927) in Folder "CWFC," CDGA, SCPC.

<sup>25</sup> The spare dresses were recommended by a woman, Mrs. Thomas who "pointed out that 'extra dresses, preferably of washable material are desirable'" [Minutes, CWFC (n.d.) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS]. As for the gender role, see CWFC, "Suggestions."

<sup>26</sup> Minutes, CWFC (November 22, 1926). They spent money, too. According an estimate that the CWFC made in 1934, the Committee received \$29,069.98 for the doll project in 1926 [Minutes, CWFC (April 3, 1934) in Folder 22, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS]. Obviously, this was just part of what the participants spent on the project. To send 12,000 dolls, the dolls without dresses (\$3 for each) and traveling (\$1 for each) should have cost \$48,000.

<sup>27</sup> This was the CWFC's basic understanding of the era. "The main event of the twentieth century is the birth of the world. The world did not exist before. There were empires, nations, continents, seas and 'zones,'—but no one knew the world. The world was born in the World War, which, as its name shows, was a world event. And now all men of sense realize that the world once born is going to grow. It is going to claim a right to its own history, its own economics and its peace." This is a statement of Senor de Madariaga, a Spanish diplomat quoted in CWFC, *Creating a World of Friendly Children* (New York: CWFC, 1932), 8.

<sup>28</sup> As for merger of women's missionary boards and societies to men's boards, see R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission* (1968; rpt., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980).

<sup>29</sup> As for the non-sectarian, non-religious policy of the CWFC, see, for example, CWFC, 1932, 6. In describing the nature of the CWFC's projects including the doll exchange, this program guide book says, "In order to free the projects of any possible misunderstanding, the Committee has insisted from the beginning that no material of a religious or a sectarian propaganda nature should be sent in or with the symbols."

<sup>30</sup> As for the influx of Catholics and Jews and its influence on non-sectarian, secular strategy, I got the idea from Rose Cohen, *Out of Shadow* (1918; rpt., Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995). As for the liberal-conservative controversy, see Chester E. Tulga, *The Foreign Missions Controversy in the Northern Baptist Convention* (Chicago: Conservative Baptist Fellowship, 1950); Bradley J. Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991); Robert T. Handy, *Undermined Establishment* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> Minutes, CWFC (November 22, 1926).

<sup>32</sup> See Inoue Shoichi, *Ningyo no Yuwaku* [Allure of Dolls] (Tokyo: Sansei-Do, 1998). Although there are several bold claims, the book shows abundant examples of peculiar meanings that were attached to dolls in general in Japan.

<sup>33</sup> “Doll Messengers of Friendship,” a leaflet in Folder “Children and World Peace,” Subject file, SCPC.

<sup>34</sup> See “Ann Haseltine Bradford.”

<sup>35</sup> There was, of course, women’s activism in Japan represented by such Christian societies as Nihon Kirisutokyo Fujin Kyofu Kai [WCTU in Japan] and YWCA as well as non-religious ones like Aikoku Fujin Kai [Women’s Association for Patriotism]. In fact, Tsukamoto Hamako, representing Fujin Heiwa Kyokai [Women’s Peace Association] was on the executive board of CIFCJ at first (Ryumonsha, 38–39), but there is no evidence that she or her organization made a positive contribution to the doll project.

<sup>36</sup> Children in the “public schools of Japan” were the explicit target from the earliest in the campaign (CWFC, “Suggestions”).

<sup>37</sup> Morimura Brothers took care of the shipping and receiving of the dolls in New York. Five companies including the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha and the Kawasaki Roosevelt Line agreed to ship the American dolls free of charge (CWFC, 1929, 25–26). Shibusawa Eiichi not only acted as a private person working for the public good but also represented Japanese business interests in the Japan-U.S. relationship.

<sup>38</sup> See “Suggestions”; “Doll Messengers of Friendship”; “Doll Messengers of Friendship” (a larger version) in Folder “Japan Doll Messengers,” CDGB, SCPC.

<sup>39</sup> The participants paid one dollar for each doll to pay for handling and transportation cost, one cent of which was for obtaining the passport (CWFC, “Suggestions”).

<sup>40</sup> I checked the copies of three passports that the Rochester Museum and Science Center keeps and a photo of one passport in Yokohama *Ningyo no Ie*, ed., *Aoi Me no Ningyo ni Hajimaru Ningyo Koryu* [Doll Exchanges beginning from the Blue-eyed Dolls], (Yokohama: Yokohama Nygyo no Ie, 1991), 7. As for the educational use of the passports, see CWFC, “Suggestions.”

<sup>41</sup> For example, a letter attached to Martha Heath from Franklin St. Sunday School, Manchester, N.H., said, “Japan is very different from America isn’t it. I should think you would be cold in winter with only paper houses . . . I like your country better than China, it is a lot prettier.” For this letter, see <http://wgordon.web.weslegan.edu/dolls/letters/letters1927/American/marthaheath.htm> (6/9/2003). Another letter from Glenfield School, Montclair, New Jersey communicated that “The girls of the United States take great pleasure in dressing the dolls and sending them to you.” For this letter and others, see CWFC, 1929, 27–29.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. The CWFC originally planned a “Doll Messenger Contest” for high schools and grade schools to select “Miss America,” “Miss America Junior” and so on (See a poster for “Doll Messenger Contest” in Folder 21, Box 44, RG-NCC18, PHS). This plan seems to express the CWFC’s efforts to proliferate the project not only in churches but also in public schools in the United States. But the plan obviously did not work. The dolls were mainly collected through church networks, not through high schools or grade schools, and therefore, the school-based contest did not, seemingly, materialize. As for the number of representative dolls, I rely on the CWFC’s publication. In Japan, the representative dolls seem to have increased 50 or 51. Koresawa claims there were fifty (Yokohama *Ningyo no Ie*, 1991, 9). According to another source, 51 representative dolls were kept in the Tokyo Educational Museum [CIFCJ, *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers* (Tokyo: The Herald of Asia, 1927), 35].

<sup>43</sup> The total cost for receiving and distributing the American dolls was ¥9,549.71. ¥2,030.45 was covered by the U.S. side; ¥2,260 by the Ministry of Education; ¥1,000

by Shibusawa Eiichi; and the remaining ¥4259.26 by the Committee on Japan-U.S. Relations, which was organized in Japan in 1916 by Shibusawa Eiichi who gathered twenty-four influential businessmen and intellectuals. See “Nichibei Kankei Iinkai Ringisho Tsuzuri” (May 1927) in Ryumonsha, 84. As for the Committee on Japan-U.S. Relations, see Shibusawa Kenkyu Kai, ed., 1999, 110–111.

<sup>44</sup> In fact, even in Japan, the CWFC and Sydney Gulick used the resources of mission-related women. For example, Kawai Michi, a product of a Presbyterian girls’ mission school in Hokkaido and first Japanese president of YWCA in Japan, translated Sydney Gulick’s English letter that accompanied each doll. This Japanese version was printed and distributed in Japan. The students of Kobe College, a Congregationalist women’s college in Kobe, translated into Japanese the letters that came with the seventy dolls allocated to Hyogo prefecture (CWFC, 1929, 53, 64–65). But no remarks of this kind were made in the Japanese records.

<sup>45</sup> Koresawa Hiroaki, “Aoi Me no Ningyo: Chosen Hanto/Kanto-shu wo Chushin to Shite [The Blue-eyed Dolls in Chosen and Kanto-shu] in *Nihon Ningyo Gangu Gakkai Shi*, Vol. 1 (Sept., 1990), 88–93. Koresawa’s other works are also illuminating on the Japanese response to the doll project. See Koresawa, “Ningyo Shi ni Kage wo Otoshita Aoi Me no Ningyo [The Blue-eyed Dolls that Cast a Shadow on the History of Dolls]” in *The Antique*, Vol. 8 (Dec., 1990): 104–107; “Shibusawa Eiichi: Kokumin Gaiko no Yukue [Shibusawa Eiichi: The Aftermath of an Unofficial Diplomacy]” in *Shibusawa Kenkyu*, Vol. 6 (Oct., 1993): 41–61; “1927-nen Nichibei Ningyo Koryu ni Mirareru Kokumin Ishiki,” in *Shibusawa Kenkyu*, Vol. 8 (1995): 3–23; “Zaibei Nihonjin Imin kara Mita Nichibei Ningyo Koryu,” in *Shibusawa Kenkyu*, Vol. 14 (Oct., 2001): 3–25. There is a guess that the Korean girl who was invited to Osaka after winning the prize might not have been good at speaking Japanese and that another girl who accompanied her spoke Japanese in her stead (see Koresawa, 1995, 13–14).

<sup>46</sup> CWFC, *Adventures in World Friendship* (New York: CWFC, n.d.), 11 in Folder “Committee on World Friendship among Children Publications,” CDGA, SCPC.

<sup>47</sup> CIFICJ, 1927, 20.

<sup>48</sup> As for detailed information on the receptions in Japan, see *ibid.*, 16–42; CWFC, 1929, 33–72.

<sup>49</sup> Ryumonsha, 44.

<sup>50</sup> Ten American dolls were allocated to Kanto-cho. Five were given to schools in Kanto-shu and the other five to schools in the land belonged to the Minami Manshu Tetsudo Kaisha (The Southern Manchu Railway Co.). On June 11, 1927, all the dolls were gathered at Dairen where an open car parade and a special radio broadcast entitled “Evening to Welcome the Dolls” were included in the grand reception. According to *Manshu Nichinichi Shinbun* [Manchu Daily News], “such a reception was never given in any place in the main land.” See, Koresawa, 1993, 46.

<sup>51</sup> Yu Beiyun, “Aoi Me no Ningyo to Taiwan [The Blue Eyed Dolls and Taiwan]” in Honda Kazuko, ed., *Mono to Kodomo no Bunka-shi* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1998): 93–121.

<sup>52</sup> In Korea, Korean and Japanese children went to different public primary schools: the former to Futsu Gakko [common school] where they were taught the Japanese language, the latter to Sho Gakko [elementary school]. Japanese colonial rule did not implement compulsory education in Korea and schooling was not free of charge. As of 1927, only 17.8 percent of six-year-old Korean children went to public Futsu Gakko. In case of girls of the same age, the percentage went down to 6.6 percent. Especially in the early part of 1920s, most of Korean children at public Futsu Gakko came from the landed class or owner farmers (see Kim Pusha (Tomiko), “Shokuminchiki Chosen niokeru



Futsu Gakko ‘Fushugaku’ to Jenda [Non-schooling and Gender in Colonized Korea],” in *Rekishigaku Kenkyukai*, ed., *Sei to Kenryoku Kankei no Rekishi* [History of Sexuality and Power] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2004): 341, 343). In this context, the Korean children in Japanese-speaking public Futsu Gakko were potential elites.

<sup>53</sup> The CWFC discussed the Japanese desire to make some return gifts to U.S. children and “as a whole thought it would be better if the Japanese just sent ‘thank you’ letters to the American children.” See Minutes, CWFC (n.d.) in Folder 21, Box 44, RG NCC-18, PHS. Also according to the CWFC minutes (March 11, 1927) in the same Folder, “The Committee felt that it might be difficult for Japan to send anything as expensive as dolls, and that a suggestion as to what they might send would make them realize that we did not expect an expensive gift. It was therefore Voted: To express our appreciation for their desire . . . and to say that it would be of deep interest and tend to cement the friendship and understanding between our children and theirs if it were possible for them to arrange for their children to make pictures of their land showing their life there and to send them to the United States.”

<sup>54</sup> Ryumonsha, 82. As for small gifts sent individually, see *Kokumin Shinbun* [National Newspaper] (June 2, 1927) in Ryumonsha, 83–84. I saw some of these small gifts from Asahi Primary School in Yamanashi Prefecture at the Rochester Museum and Science Center in 2003.

<sup>55</sup> For Shibusawa’s view on this point, see Ryumonsha, 67. For general impressions among Japanese children, see Nagai, 169–170. For Japanese girls, the lace underwear that the dolls had on was also an amazement (Nagai, 170).

<sup>56</sup> The CIFICJ planned originally to collect one sen from each girl totaling about 26,000 yen (Ryumonsha, 81) to send fifty dolls, one for each state in U.S. and one for the District of Columbia and one as a spare (See the pamphlet distributed to schools to announce the return project in Ryumonsha, 89–93). The Committee collected more than it planned, 29,000 yen from the girls (Ryumonsha, 94) and sent 58 dolls, fifty representing the Japanese nation, prefectures and colonies, eight representing the major cities. The CIFICJ actually spent 20,500 yen for obtaining the Japanese dolls, approximately 350 yen for each doll, and the remaining amount for other various costs (Ryumonsha, 94).

<sup>57</sup> For the concept of “overcoming Modernity,” see Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), chapter 2. Although the conception of overcoming began to circulate in Japan in the 1930s, I see such a mindset in the doll exchange.

<sup>58</sup> CIFICJ, 1927. As for the funding for this booklet, see Ryumonsha, 94. 17,000 copies were printed, which cost 3,500 yen.

<sup>59</sup> My observation is based on the letters from Yamanashi Prefecture, stored at the Wyoming State Museum; from Kanagawa Prefecture at the University of Oregon Museum of Art; from Kagoshima Prefecture at the Phoenix Museum of History; from Osaka City at the Ohio Historical Society. Most of these letters were not translated into English at the time.

<sup>60</sup> As for the competition, see Yokohama Ningyo no Ie, 51–53. Seven dolls that were made in Kyoto did not participate in the competition. As for the importance of the doll project for the Japanese doll industry, see *Nihon Ningyo Kenkyu Kai*, ed., *Ningyo Dokuhon* [On Dolls] (Yuzankaku, 1933). Sekiya Ryukichi, an official at the Ministry of Education who accompanied the Japanese dolls to the United States wrote an introduction for this volume. Also, the contemporary enthusiasm of a doll collector on the doll project is conveyed in Tekiho Nishizawa, *Hina* [Dolls] (Tokyo and Kyoto: Geiso Do, 1928): 1–4. As for the importance of the project for Hirata Goyo, see Hirata Goyo, *Ningyo*

*Gei Goju Nen* [Fifty years of the Doll Art] (Kodan Sha, 1976): 197–198. Also see Koresawa, 1990 for a concise argument on this point.

<sup>61</sup> Assistant Secretary of State William Castle had to write a letter telling in a manner “as pleasant as possible” the Ambassador Matsudaira that Mrs. Coolidge would not participate in any of the receptions. He was annoyed with the doll project that had incurred such troublesome diplomacy but believed that it would improve the bilateral relationship in no way. See Hirobe, 103–104.

<sup>62</sup> CWFC, 1929, 104.

<sup>63</sup> Minutes, CWFC (Nov. 4, 1927) in Box 243, CRIA.

<sup>64</sup> CWFC, “World Friendship among Children: A Goodwill Project between the Children of America and the Children of Mexico,” a pamphlet in Folder “Comm. on World Friendship among Children Publications,” CDGA, SCPC.

<sup>65</sup> CWFC, “Adventures in World Friendship” (n.d.), 29–30, in Folder “Comm. on World Friendship among Children Publications,” CDGA, SCPC. About 10,000 Treasure chests were left over after the Philippine project [Minutes, CWFC (September 10, 1930) in Box 244, CRIA]. In order to defray the deficit, they were sold for the Puerto Rico project in 1931 in which an appeal was made to send money for famine relief together with a Treasure Chest [Minutes, CWFC (May 19, 1931) in Box 245, CRIA].

<sup>66</sup> Minutes, CWFC (June 6, 1933) in Box 246, CRIA. Apparently suffering from the deficit created in the Philippine project, the folio was a cheap item compared to three previous symbols [Minutes, CWFC (May 19, 1931), 2–4]. Also, beginning from the Puerto Rico project above, the China project incorporated famine relief [CWFC, “A World of Friendly Children: Next Step” (n.d.) in Box 246, CRIA]. From 1937, the CWFC led American children to send Goodwill suitcases to the children of war-stricken Spain [CWFC, “Dear Friend” letter (January, 1939) in Folder “CWFC,” CDGA, SCPC]. So, the Committee was shifting their project toward disaster or war relief programs in 1930s.

<sup>67</sup> CWFC, “World Christmas Gift,” a poster (1950) in folder 22, Box 44, NCC 18, PHS.

<sup>68</sup> Mexico was chosen for the second project “because a strain on international relations is being felt and a project would help in promoting goodwill between the children of both countries” [Minutes, CWFC (March 11, 1927), 2]. Obviously, the tension was concerned with oil interests, the pending problem since 1917 which was temporarily eased due to the Morrow settlement in 1927 (see, for example, Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980): 679–680, 684).

<sup>69</sup> Minutes, CWFC (November 4, 1927) in Box 243, CRIA.

<sup>70</sup> Nakajima Tsukasa, ed., *Tokyo yori Chosen e: Ai no Shisha Hina Ningyo* [From Tokyo to Chosen: Messengers of Love, Dolls for the Doll Festival] (Chuo Chosen Kyokai, 1931). Saito Makoto, the governor general of Korea, “endorsed the project wholeheartedly” and his wife were present at the reception in Seoul (Nakajima, 1, 39).

<sup>71</sup> Yokohama Ningyo no Ie, 21.